784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

695 [787] 683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

[58] *Ibid.*, 242–243.

[P.20(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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Anra is a lonely widower and his only friends seem to be his three great hunting dogs. These live with him in his squalid hut. He is remarkably fond of them and, like a child with her dolls, frequently holds imaginary conversations with them. They are great pals and he could treat them no better even were they his own children. It was with great pride that he one day told me that these very dogs had once saved his life, for, having fallen one dark night on his way home, into a deep ditch from which it was impossible for him to climb out alone, they stood together on the edge and kept up a mighty howling and pitiful wailing till some comrades came and rescued him.

Once when I was in this man's district, he came to see me with a furtive, uneasy, anxious and restless look on his face like a frightened cat. He told me that he was sorely afflicted by visits from demons and was at that moment being pursued by most fearful and diabolical spooks. "Will you deliver me? Can you lay these obnoxious and uncanny ghosts? They are driving me mad, and I can get no rest," he said. Poor old fellow! I strongly suspected *saké* was at the bottom of it all. But he declared it was not so. It was the usual, natural thing with him. They came to him both by day and by night and sometimes showed their wicked spite for half a moon on end. He was so harassed that he ventured to come to me, for he could see no other help elsewhere, he said. This poor old man's madness took the form of persecutions by the disembodied spirits of dwarfs and giants!*

Sometimes, he said, these creatures came to him singly and at others in great companies. They swarmed over the mountains in the north and rushed

* It may be remarked in passing that some of the Ainu believe that in olden times dwarfs and giants lived in Ainu-land and that all these have long since died out. My friend was evidently one who accepted this tradition.

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along the river courses, dressed in the skins of bears, wolves, foxes and dogs. Some even wore coats made of fish skins. "They are hateful creatures," he said. One would almost imagine him to be living in a certain astral state in the nether world which some people appear to believe in. Anyhow, I certainly found him serving his time in a purgatory of sorts.

The spirits would rush up his hill and surround his home and ridicule him. They called him all kinds of bad names. They touched his pride everywhere, for they scoffed at his hut, his furniture, his ancient heirlooms, his very best clothing, and even his little garden. The only things they let alone were his three beloved dogs. These alone seemed to be unaware of the presence of all these demons. He could only combat them by roundly storming at them in return—a process which I have heard going on more than once. "They are in the air even now! Listen! Do you not hear them?" he said. "Look!" he cried with a scared countenance and shaky voice. But I could see nothing, and all I could hear was the sighing of the wind in the tree tops and the murmur of the waves of the Pacific Ocean. And I told him so. But he would not be quiet. It took quite a long time to calm him.

Anra then told me that he was also troubled with visitations from ancient Japanese warriors. And surely there is history behind this. These, he said, came up out of the sea, clad in armour and fully equipped for battle. From head to foot they were always armed and protected. When these come up to take away his land, as he supposes, he girds on his old sword and rushes toward the foe. Brandishing this weapon, and making the surrounding mountains resound with his war cry, he imagines himself to be in the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed and doing the most wonderful execution. He tells me that he can really see the foe, even though he knows it to be a spiritual battle. In the end, he says, they retreat

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one morning and found our man had completely disappeared and no one could tell us when, where or why he went. He was gone, and there was nothing more to be said. After three days he came back to us looking remarkably tired and washed out. Though I had never known him to touch alcohol in any form, I thought he must have gone off on a spree and had a drunken bout. But he declared it was not so. He told me that he had suddenly experienced *"the call to the mountains."* I had never heard about such "calls" before, so this explanation made me open eyes and ears. He told me that when such calls came, there was nothing for it but to obey immediately. He said that there was an irresistible force which drew and pushed him into the hills. So go he must. "What do you do there?" I asked. He said that it was very difficult to explain, but the name he told me was *Chiassuruani.* Philologically this means "being made to know the news." He said that it consisted in conversing with and seeking the aid of the superior spirits, running wild, jumping, howling and rolling. And he certainly looked as though he had been doing all this. Our conversation ended in my giving the old fellow permission to go whenever that irresistible impulse came upon him, for I was sure he would go just the same with or without leave. He left me in a happy frame of mind and did his work well after it. He used to go at intervals till almost the last, though his visits grew gradually further and further apart. He died some five years ago. This spirit has not by any means yet disappeared, for even the most educated of the men are seized by it in degree at times. One of them, the very best educated man I know among them, has to be let off twice a year for a week on end, but he tells me that he goes quite away by himself and does nothing but fish with a hook and line, and pray all the time.

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787 This incident of the "call" of our servant brings to mind an ancient Northern Ainu tradition concerning an old man who was subject to such impulses.

In the following translation the word given me for "psychic impulses" is quite interesting. It really means "carried along by one's own soul," and so refers to a subjective state of mind. It comes from the Northern Ainu and was told me many years ago. The Ainu text may be found under Number 36 of my "Ainu Fireside Stories."

539 "One winter an old man subject to psychic impulses went for some reason or other into the mountains. Here he made a lodge of pine branches and dwelt in it. In the evening, when he was asleep, a voice came to him which said,

" 'O man over there, O man over there, you are in a dream, you are dreaming.' Such was the voice. Upon hearing this he immediately became quite unconscious. Thereupon there appeared at the bottom end of the hearth an old woman wearing a sealskin coat and smoking a long pipe. Then the old man rose up with the intention of going outside to some person who was calling him; but the old woman, who was sitting at the end of the hearth smoking, thrust him back with her wrist. And so he woke up. On looking round the woman could not be seen. The next day he went out to reconnoitre, and found that a pine marten had called him from behind his lodge."

787 776 So much for this *multum in parvo* lore. Now to explain briefly. During his trance the man thought he heard someone calling him from outside and so he got up with the intention of going to see who it could be. But an old woman, whom he saw in his trance, swept him roughly back with her fore arm. This rough usage saved his life. It was *Unchi*, called by some *Huchi*, and by some *Fuji*, the Goddess of Fire, who thus saved him.

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out to sea. Those represented by the images were then to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very much feared by this people, both men and women worship them on occasion. Not only are they made objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

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756 not know himself what he is saying, and afterwards he does not remember (so he says) that he has spoken.

I saw the same man again one evening, standing by the head of another very sick woman who was lying on a stool by the fireside. Several women were sitting round the patient, holding her tightly with their hands, as though trying to keep life within her, and the shaman swaying to and fro, with an earnest look on his face and his eyes flashing light. He was trying to send the demon of sickness away. Some of the women about the sick one filled their mouths with water and blew it over her face and body. They also every now and then gave vent to their feelings by loud lamentations and weeping. Some held lights and others turned out the pots, pans and tubs and swept the house clean from end to end. In so far as I could see, this was the only good part of the performance.

157 I stated above that the shaman I saw at his work carried a fox skull in his bosom, well decorated with fetish shavings. Such skulls are for the purpose of divination. When in one of the interior villages I came across a man who was very angry because he had lost a *yen* (about two shillings). He had strong suspicions that a married daughter who lived next door had stolen it. Being a shaman in a small way, he called his daughter before him, so as to divine whether she was guilty or not, as she would not, of her own will, confess to the deed. Every married Ainu in the olden days kept a fox's skull on hand for divination, and was not at all backward in using it. This is how it happened that the father so quickly began to divine. The following is the way the ceremony was conducted:

The accused woman was brought into her father's hut and made to sit in front of him. He then reverently and with great ceremony produced his fox's skull, prayed before it and the fire, told of the loss, and asked for a true answer to be vouchsafed him. He next

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separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

It may be of interest to translate a remarkable Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty-House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty-House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

The translation now to follow is as literal as may be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

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for example, as ague and fever, heavy colds, stomach-ache, and prickings at the lungs (consumption). Now, when such complaints arise, the full-grown men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each hut a small portion of millet, fish, tobacco, skunk cabbage, and cow-parsnip. When they have secured these, they should bring them to an appointed place, where the men should sit down and pray. After the prayer they should carry all to the seashore, then reverently make fetishes and place them by their side. When this has been done, they should lift up their voices and say, 'O ye demons of the bays and harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye fearful beings, pay attention! We have with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon the demons who have afflicted us, and on our behalf entreat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for your dinner, and the fetishes are paid as a fine. O all ye demon watchers over the harbours and bays, have the demons of disease taken away from our villages!' If this prayer be said and the ceremony performed, the sicknesses will speedily take their departure."

While sitting with this man by his hearth, he volunteered the following lore. "When one has palpitation of the heart, it is a sign that he is about to hear bad news, such as news of a fire, serious sickness, or death. As soon, therefore, as the palpitation comes, he should at once rub the place six times and say, 'As I do not wish to hear any bad news, I now brush myself six times.' For this purpose he should take a small stick or piece of grass, break it into six pieces, and brush them carefully over the place." Again, "If the upper eyelid twitches, it is a sign that one is about to see something very interesting.

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If it is the lower one which twitches, it is to make known the fact that there is to be a wailing for the dead." And another friend added, "Yes, it is a person's good genius which makes known such things to him."

A third person then joined in and said, "Should any person have warts upon his hands or corns on his feet, he should rub them well with the cast-off skin of a snake. That drives them away quickly. The reason is that the name for 'wart' is *cremu-tampu*, i.e. 'rat sheath.' Rats are very much afraid of snakes, which catch and eat them. Therefore such things cannot abide snakes. The skins of snakes burnt into powder and rubbed well in are said to heal chaps quickly."

I found that the people used quite a large number of trees, shrubs, and herbs in treating the sick. Among such I found the feather-columbine, the common celandine, chickweed, actinidia, horse-chestnut, bird-cherry, spikeweed, mugwort, the flower shoot of the petasites, winter-cherry, wild parsnip, wild onion and others. In cases of stomach trouble, besides the river otter's heart, as mentioned above, soup made from the seeds of docks was considered very effectual. The dried seeds were beaten in a mortar, then well sifted and the flour boiled till it became something like pea soup, and, when cool enough, a cupful swallowed. For some complaints, a decoction made by steeping alder bark in cold water was administered. Another way was to stuff a pillow with convolvulus roots, for the sick one to lay his head on. Some such roots were chewed in order to produce expectoration. How the people could use so many remedies, and survive, I cannot understand!

For toothache, I know of one man who heated a nail very hot and held it on the offending member. This, he said, was to kill the demon insects which were

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 ●757 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

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117 sent, as a little lad, and who very kindly helped to pull me out of the contraption, who brought the incident to my mind again, at which we both resumed our laugh begun more than 40 years ago!

787 754 As I was one day wandering about the outskirts of the village, I met a young Ainu woman who said, with a scared look upon her face and in a hushed voice, as though afraid of being overheard, "O Sir, please do not go near yonder house, for there is great danger there." "But why?" I asked. "Whatever danger can there be in broad daylight like this? Come, tell me all about it." She replied, casting a frightened look about her, "A woman lives there who is said to be possessed by a fox, and she bewitches people." "Oh, indeed," I replied, "possessed by a fox, is she! That is serious, is it not ? But how do you know? Is she ill? Have you seen the fox which has got hold of her?" To this she replied, "No; but all say she is possessed. Many people have reported that they have seen a big fox more than once coming out of or entering into her house by the east end window, on moonlight nights. And thus it is proved that she is fox-possessed."

This young lady firmly believed, with others, that the woman could turn herself into a fox or back into a human being at will, and bewitch folks when so inclined. Moreover, it was also thought that she was able to render herself visible or invisible as she pleased. It was really so believed by the young woman who was warning me. I did not contradict her at all, but thanked her and told her I would certainly be very careful. This pleased her and so we parted company.

Later on, I again met this same young woman and gathered some information from her as to her creed with reference to this matter. She told me that such as are possessed by foxes have power to make people ill and so destroy them. Such persons sometimes die

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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barking "*pen, pen*," like a fox. Others walk into rivers and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water. 787 754

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats. 825

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made upon this earth originally, but was sent down from 539 825

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea [825 787] as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

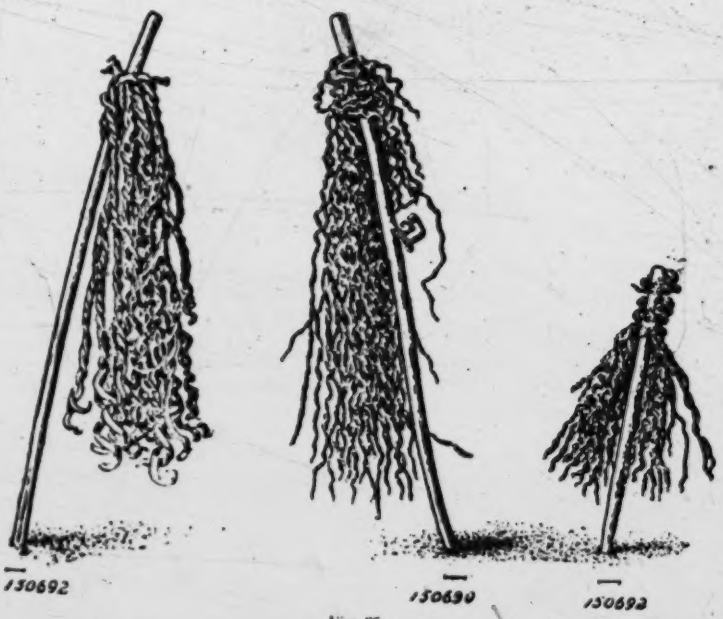

Fig. 86.

AINU — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, [685] but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Ainu festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB8

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-range Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor-worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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776 825 spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other [796] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am [182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil [787] omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

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analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
[776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
● 787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
[782] divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
789 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and carrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

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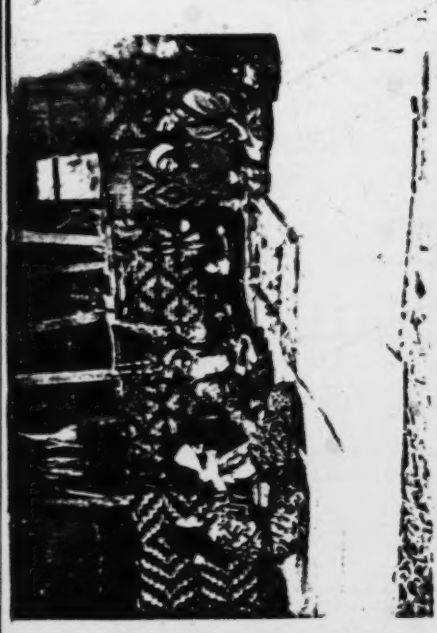

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Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *inao* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

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VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1]

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once

[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. —N.G.M.

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(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

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committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

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sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer practised.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

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There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

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In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

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A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

EXORCISM

of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as Pu-epungine Kamui.

I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
● 787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[966] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

/765 cont./

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[755] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[787] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course, if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victoriale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinhu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details